534 (aratasu-ahatu), and the connection remains suspect, the Nambikwara
789 not disdaining puns. (1) The same thing goes for the flutes of Pan,
[92]

[522] 1. For example, A1 mocks me when I am in the process of smoking: Kukedetu ukedetu: a smoker is lazy.

sometimes called duʔuru (a1/2) duʔunde (b1) which would also be the name of the animal agouti (Dasyproctas aguti). It is no less true that
[533] several of the songs collected have been pointed out as songs of the hunt or of the harvest. A soldier of the Rondon Commission, prisoner of the Nambikwara for quite a long time, described to Roquette Pinto (2) a ceremony composed of dances and songs which had

2. Loc. cit., p. 234-235.

followed a tapir hunt. And a musical theme was pointed out to us spontaneously as the song of the tapir hunt.

FROM BIRTH TO DEATH

844 The Nambikwara woman gives birth (to be born: talittige, b1) in a crouching position and getting support on the ground by means of a vertical pole which she holds with both hands. During this time a companion pours cold water over the chest and stomach with a small gourd. The umbilical cord is cut close and cauterized with a live coal, then covered with a salve of warm ashes.

47. dosu sajkedutu ʔakedatelusu alosu usiʔnkedjutu inketu jakesajtutu ire ire iagekediutu (a1)
[When] the woman gives birth the placenta is buried in the bush; she is ill, she does not eat [for] a moon, a moon [and then] she eats again.

846 After the ceremony of burying the placenta, consequently, the woman would remain for two months under a taboo and condemned to relative abstinence. In reality, an exceptional situation is prolonged much longer, the period of abstinence observed by the husband and wife until the child is weaned, or at least until he ceases to be exclusively nourished by the mother's milk.

To describe the state of abstinence (inkatu, "one is ill" [a1]; there is no special term), we can do no more than to transcribe our observations made from day to day relative to the family of fire 6 composed of A21, a22, and a23. a22 is clearly distinguished from her companions:

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
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533 **Music and dance.**—Music is clearly tonal, with melodic structures easy to identify. The end of a melody is usually marked with several shrill sounds which are repeated after each coda. Music is both instrumental and choral and usually accompanies dances.

535 Dances are performed under the leadership of the chief. Men and women stamp rhythmically on the ground while turning in a circle. Usually, dancers close one nostril with the left hand to make their singing nasal. Only men perform war dances, forming one or more rows and stepping forward and backward in front of the leader. In the second phase of the dance, they attack a post, a symbolical enemy, with bows and arrows, and clubs. Most of the dances and songs are connected with hunting or seasonal ceremonies, but they may be used at any time for mere entertainment.

534 **Musical instruments.**—Flageolets have four holes and an air duct; three are usually played together, accompanied by a rhythm trumpet made of a piece of bamboo with a hollow calabash fixed to its bottom. Nose flutes (pl. 36, *top, right*) are made of two pieces of calabash glued together with wax and pierced with three holes. One hole is blown with one nostril while the other nostril is closed with the thumb; the other two holes vary the notes. Nose flutes are also played in unison. Double and treble whistles have the air duct cut in the middle of the pipe, so that they can be blown at either end. Panpipes (pl. 36, *bottom, left*) are of two kinds: the common type has five pipes; the other type consists of two or three reeds cut obliquely at the mouth-end. All pipes produce approximately the same note in the latter.

272 273 **Drinks and narcotics.**—Drinks are made with crushed manioc or maize mixed with water, or of palm fruits, especially *Mauritia* sp., *Acrocomia* sp., and *Oenocarpus distichus*. A slightly alcoholic beverage is prepared of wild pineapples mixed with water.

276 The *Nambicuara* are ardent smokers. They cultivate a tobacco with tiny leaves, which they dry between two pieces of wood, crush with their hands, and store in small calabashes. Cigarettes are rolled in special leaves and tied with grass.

MAGIC AND RELIGION

771 The *Nambicuara* believe in the existence of a diffuse power or substance which may occur in objects and in living beings. It is manifest mostly in poisons, some of which are real (see Weapons, p. 366), some purely magical. To the latter belongs the rosin of the barrigudo tree (a Bombacaceae), which is kept in tubes like the true poisons. When thrown by a special technique at an enemy, it is believed to make him swell like the trunk of the tree and die.

776 There are also dangerous spirits of the bush and of water, which may appear in the shape of an animal, especially the jaguar, or in a

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

of skill and initiative are the prerequisites of a good leader. It is he who makes the arrow-poison, although the preparation of *curare* among the Nambikuara is a purely profane activity surrounded by no ceremonial taboos or magic prescriptions. It is he, also, who makes the rubber ball used in the head-ball games which are played occasionally. The chief must be a good singer and dancer, a merrymaker always ready to cheer up the band and to brighten the dullness of daily life. This could easily lead to shamanism; and, in some cases, I have met with chiefs who were at the same time healers and trance addicts. Mystical life, however, is kept in the background among the Nambikuara, and, wherever they exist, magical functions are only secondary attributes of the leader. More often chieftainship and sorcery are divided between two different individuals. In this respect, there is a strong difference between the Nambikuara and their northwestern neighbors the Tupi-Kawahib among whom the chief is, first of all, a shaman, usually a psychotic addicted to dreams, visions, trances and impersonations.

But although they are oriented in a more positive direction, the Nambikuara chief's skill and ingenuity are none the less amazing. He must have a perfect knowledge of the territories haunted by his and other groups, be familiar with the hunting grounds, the location of fruit-bearing trees and the time of their ripening, have some idea of the itineraries followed by other bands, whether hostile or friendly. Therefore, he must travel more, and more quickly, than his people, have a good memory, and sometimes gamble his prestige on hazardous contacts with foreign and dangerous people. He is constantly engaged in some task of reconnoitering and exploring, and seems to flutter around his band rather than lead it.

Except for one or two men without actual power, but eager to cooperate and to receive occasional rewards, the passivity of the band makes a strong contrast with its dynamic leader. It seems as if the band, having relinquished certain advantages to the chief, were in exchange relying entirely upon him for its interests and safety. I received a particularly striking demonstration of this under rather strange circumstances. After several weeks' discussion, I had obtained from a chief the favor of taking me, together with a few companions and some animals loaded with presents, to the semi-permanent dwellings of his band which were uninhabited at that time. This was a chance for me to penetrate more deeply into the unexplored Nambikuara territory

by singing calls his *anúnsu*, who eventually comes up out of the ground in front of him. The *anúnsu* may be in the form of a bird or a jaguar, but is very small in size. The shaman wears a hat made from a jaguar skin and a necklace made from jaguar claws and teeth. The shaman offers the hat and the necklace to his *anúnsu* if he will do his bidding. If the *anúnsu* is satisfied with the singing and the decorations he will carry out the shaman's orders. The procedure followed in curing an individual who has been made ill by sorcery is much the same. The shaman calls his *anúnsu* by singing and asks that he help him draw out the object. The *anúnsu* enters the shaman, who then sucks out the dangerous object. In mild cases the shaman draws out bamboo slivers, but in cases of severe illness he draws out the bones of fish or the entrails of birds.

The ghosts of the dead (*aydnkadisu*) who live around the stone mountain from which the Nambicuara came, periodically come to the villages and camps asking for food. They are not dangerous if they are well-treated. When the shaman says that the *aydnkadisu* are around, the people prepare manioc cakes, roast ears of maize, and broil meat. They then gather around the shaman and sing together with the ghosts. The shaman thanks the ghosts for their singing and they finally go away. If the ghosts are dissatisfied with the offerings and the singing they become angry and make the children ill. To cure the children, a more elaborate feast has to be prepared for the ghosts.

In every case, contact with the ghosts of the dead or with the spirits of dead shamans is made through singing. The Waklítisu do not use tobacco, drums, or rattles to communicate with the supernatural. One becomes a shaman when he hears the song of an *anúnsu*, which he later uses whenever he wishes to contact his spirit helper. Everyone in the band appears to know the songs which bring the *aydnkadisu*. Shamans practice continence before important rites, for if the *anúnsu* observe sexual intercourse they become angry and take away all the cotton from the bushes.

In addition to treating illness through shamanistic practices, the Nambicuara resort to more practical methods. They brew herbs, the juice of which is later poured over the head or stomach of a

757 patient. The juice of a certain plant is put into the cavities of teeth to stop toothache. The juice of boiled roots and leaves are taken internally for stomach disorders. One day I observed a woman pressing her foot over her husband's forehead as he lay on the ground. The heel was placed over the eye and she exerted considerable pressure. She was doing this to cure her husband's headache. These nonmagical practices are known to everyone. Some herbal medicines, however, are known only to the shamans and are used under the directions of the *anúnsu*.

778 534 The sacred flutes (*wdinrhu*) are associated with *okkihditlisu*, the culture hero, agriculture, and chieftainship. As these flutes are similar in appearance to the sacred flutes of the Paressí, among whom they have great significance, it is possible that the Nambicuara obtained them originally from the Paressí. The flutes are about 2 feet long with four holes at the lower end and are made from a jointless piece of bamboo. When the band settles down near their manioc fields they build a special hut for the flutes, but when they are wandering around, the flutes are hidden in the [784] woods. Women are not permitted to see the flutes, and if one should accidently see them her stomach would swell and she would become ill. But what appears more important is the fact that the flutes poison people who do not treat them well. Yet, as only the chief and the head shamans play them this would mean that the flutes are the symbols of authority representing the men in whom power is invested. The flutes, four of which should be in every band, do not represent a spirit but appear to be more like fetishes. Boiled manioc juice is poured into them and they are offered maize and broiled meat.

241 775 533 The *wdinrhu* are played after the fields have been planted and again at harvest time. After planting, the men gather into the flute hut and play the flutes and sing the *weiydnsu*. The ghosts of the dead participate and, along with the flutes, are offered food and drink. At harvest time another ceremony called *kaikdnakidutsu* is performed at night during which the flutes are played and special songs are sung. The following day the whole band participates in a dance. The ghosts also take part in this ceremony.

534 In addition to the *wdinrhu* flutes, the Nambicuara have a smaller four-stop bamboo flute called

535 The circling began at seven o'clock in the evening, with continuous chanting. The girls, not once deviating from their course, left regular marks on the dusty ground which were clearly visible in the moonlight. They seemed always to step in the footprints of the first round. Midnight. Near the fires lit by every family, the old people slept; some muttered and poked the embers which gleamed like scattered rubies. Within the circle, perspiring, covered with dust, more dead than alive, we all joined in the chorus: "Tagnaní-i! Tagnaní-i! Tangrê!"

Thus it went on all night. Whenever one of us fled and repaired to his hammock, two or three big husky fellows would come talking volubly, and drive the deserter back to his place...

[321] Unfortunately the words of those chants were not recorded. We only know the two words cited: tagnani, the name of the tribe, tangre, which means "star." Was this astrolatry? The three central figures of this dance, in the course of which stars were mentioned, brought to my mind [255] the beautiful constellation of Orion with its Três Marias ["Three Maries"--the Belt].

533 I recorded two Cocozu musical pieces which are rendered here [pp. 73-74]. Prof. Astolpho Tavares has transcribed them into musical notation.

[Fig. 34]

The scale [diapasão] of Nambicuara music is about half a tone lower than our normal scale.

The notes used in the recorded pieces are: do^1, mi^{2b}, fa^2, fa^2, sol^2, la^2. Neither re nor si appear.

The recorded pieces are in la flat major shifting to mi flat minor (Recording No. 1), and in mi minor (Recording No. 2).

The musical motifs develop in two-part time.

184 The Serra do Norte Indians present two distinct kinds of social organization. From this standpoint, the Tagnani and Tawite are more advanced than the Cocozu and Anunze.

593 The latter live under a patriarchal regime: the father rules the [511] family, which is often monogamous. The children, after puberty, start new families according to their own wishes [a vontade] and continue to revere their progenitors.

14.599

Recording No. 1.

Serra do Norte Indians

7:Roquette-Pinto--73 E-4, 5 (no date)1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[334] Recording No. 2.

535

Serra do Norte Indians